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ABSTRACT

A study examined the linguistic processes involved in the lexical modernization of Urdu and the extent to which the changes affect the efficiency of communication, the Urdu-speaking community, and the language itself. Data were drawn from the language used in popular Urdu daily papers and periodicals covering the complete range of activities in the community at the regional, national, and international levels, and from regional and national radio broadcasts on All India Radio. Listener attitudes toward the radio programs were also recorded. Four conclusions are reached: (1) The influence of English and other surrounding Indo-European languages, especially Hindi, is forcing Urdu to adopt some new linguistic processes, thereby gaining some linguistic traits and losing others during modernization; (2) the raw material for linguistic processes of modernization is most often old and based on classical languages such as Persian and Arabic, bringing back old sounds and lexical items in new contexts and forms and creating a communication gap bridged only by education; (3) both diglossia and code-switching prevail, the former because of lexical acculturation and the latter in an effort to achieve both purity and modernity; and (4) Urdu modernization is creating a communication gap between those with diglossic or code-switching facility and those without it. (MSE)

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LEXICAL MODERNIZATION AND ITS SOCIO-LINGUISTIC EFFECTS:
A CASE FROM INDIAN URDU

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LEXICAL MODERNIZATION AND ITS SOCIO-LINGUISTIC
EFFECTS : A CASE FROM INDIAN URDU

0.1 Modernization of societies is generally followed by modernization of its language/s in the form of emergence of new vocabularies and new registers to meet the demands of a modern society so as to acquire "communication efficiency". The present paper deals with the various linguistic processes involved in the lexical modernization of Urdu. An attempt has been made to see how far the modernization of the language reaches the communication efficiency and what are its social and linguistic ramifications on Urdu speaking community as well as an Urdu language per se.

The results reported in this paper are based on extensive and intensive research conducted on 'Standardization and Modernization of North Indian Urdu' at Jawaharlal Nehru University during the period of 1979-84. The data for modernization process was collected from popular Urdu dailies and

and periodicals namely Gammi Awar, Milap, Pratap, Alfamiyat, Yoina, Shabistan, etc. as they cover the complete range of activities of the community at the regional, national and international levels. We cannot undermine the role of broadcasting in standardizing and modernizing a language. We have the cases of Somali, Japanese and English in front of us. We thus also collected data from the radio programs that are broadcasted from All India Radio ^{the} both at national and the regional levels. Attitude of the listeners towards these programs were then recorded and analysed.

- 1.1 Urdu in India has been under heavy influence of both Hindi and English in its journey to modernization. Along with this overt influence Indian Urdu takes refuge for coining terminologies, into Arabic and Persian. As we shall see, borrowing of English terms and coining of new terms by exploiting its own resources are both favoured in the process of lexical modernization. English is used as a source for modernization and lexical innovation not merely because it is a language of designative adequacy but because of its being the "neutral"

language in the Indian language contact situation. In the situation where preference for "pure" terminology runs along with borrowing, there emerges two or more than two forms leading to code-switching. Modernization of languages has been associated with the process of coining and developing new terminologies for the concepts and items which are either fully alien to the developing society (the society which wants to modernize its language) or are in the process of full absorption with the society. In both the cases the concepts and items for which lexical innovation takes place are new to the society. In other words, the developing economies heavily borrow concepts and items from developed economies and in turn trigger the process of lexical innovation in their own languages. Lexical innovation concerns itself with various kinds of linguistic processes to absorb new cultural traits. The linguistic material could be either native or of the donor language. The linguistic process could be either native or a mixture of both. The following

analysis of modernized Urdu vocabulary is based on the patterning suggested by Srivastava et al (1984).

2:1. LEXICAL INNOVATION

1. LOAN BORROWING

Material	:	Donor language
Linguistic Pattern	:	Donor
Process	:	(a) Perceptible phonic adaptation (b) Non-perceptible phonic adaptation

(a)	<u>Model</u>	<u>Adapted Expression</u>
	form	faaram
	technique	takniik
	hospital	aspataal
(b)	fund	fand
	archive	aarkaaiv
	credit	kr&dit

2. LOAN BLENDS/HYBRIDS

The recipient language builds new words through transfer of one of the elements of the compounds of the donor language and reproduction (generally by literal translation) of the other elements of the compound from its own source.

Material	:	Recipient language + Donor language
Linguistic Pattern	:	Donor
Process	:	Hybrid

<u>Model</u>	<u>Hybrid Expression</u>
Bridge corporation	pul karporešan
secret society	xufiaa sosaeiṭii
ruling party	hukmaraapaarṭi

3. LOAN TRANSLATION/CALCQUING

In which the model is reproduced exactly morpheme by morpheme translation.

Material	Recipient language
Linguistic Pattern	Donor language
Process	Calcquing

<u>Model</u>	<u>Calcqued Expression</u>
Higher education	aa ḷaa taaʔliim
Artificial satellite	masnuḷi saiyaaraa
Examination reforms	imtahaanii istalḷahaat
White paper	Kortasul bes
social welfare	samaajii bəhbuud

4. LOAN RENDITION

In which the model of the donor language furnishes only a general hint or semantic cues for the reproduction of new concepts in the recipient language.

Material	Recipient language
Linguistic pattern	Native
Process	Reproduction
<u>Model</u>	<u>Reproduced Expression</u>
Sky scrapers	falak bos imaatatē
ceasefire	jay bandi
non aligned movement	naa vaabistaa tahrīk

Loan borrowing, loan blends/hybrids, loan translation/ calcquing, and loan renditions are the linguistic processes which help lexical innovations in the language. But lexical innovation is not the only reason for lexical modernization. In the process of "developing a language" and adhering to the classical

notion of 'uniformity, precision, elegance, purity of form, allegiance to literary traditions' etc. new terminologies are deliberately created for already existing concepts, the process which we would like to call lexical acculturation. Let us see what kind of linguistic process this lexical acculturation involves.

3.1. LEXICAL ACCULTURATION

1. LOAN CREATIONS

A term applied to new coinages which are stimulated not by cultural innovations only but also by the need to match the existing concepts of the recipient language in a new context.

Material	Recipient language
Linguistic Pattern	Native
Linguistic Process	Creations
Context	New

<u>Model</u>	<u>Created Expression</u>
Progressives	taraqqi pasand
terrorism	dahŝat gardii
reactionery	rajat pasand

2. LOAN SHIFTS

Pertains to an extension or restriction of context of use of the existing expression of the recipient language. This may involve either an expansion of the semantic range or a constriction of the semantic range of the existing lexicon.

Material	Recipient language	
Linguistic Pattern	Native	
Process	(a)	Extension of pragmatic range
	(b)	Restriction of pragmatic range
(a) <u>Infused Expr.</u>	<u>Existing range</u>	<u>Extension of the range</u>
taŋ nazar	weak eyesighted	narrow minded
hawaa	air	wave (of popularity)
cun(1e)	to select	(to) elect
(b) <u>Diffused Expression</u>	<u>Existing Pragmatic range</u>	<u>Restriction of pragmatic range</u>
daaxilaa	entry, import	admission (to school)
ruuh numaa11	to have a glimpse	release of a book
ḡwān	palace, huge haweli	president's house
haakIm	the one who can order	commissioner
mōtamit	assistant	secretary

3. LOAN INTENSIFICATION/DOUBLETS/REDUNDANT EXPRESSIONS

In addition to the existing concepts and their available terminologies the recipient language at times creates new loans of these existing expressions. The process of loan intensification takes place as a result of certain socio-linguistic factors most common of which are code-switching and cultural diversity.

Material	:	Recipient language
Linguistic Pattern	:	Donor and Recipient
Process	:	Redundant Expression

(a) Code Switching

Because of the social values attached to the donor language, or the factor of ease of use of the recipient language the parallel usage of both native and donor languages for the same concept is very common.

English Model

English-Urdu Codes

act

ʔkt-qaanuun

commerce

kaamars-maaliyat

registered

ragistard-rasjiil

(b) Cultural Diversity

Along with the old PA words, new set of words are created under the influence of languages other than English, in the current language contact situation of the country.

OLD

NEW

Umar-rasiidaa

buurhaa

'old'

zahar-aluudaa

zahriilaa

'poisonous'

inteqal

mɔt

'death'

The examples given as New above are influenced by Hindi

4.1 DIALOSSIA AND UNAVOIDABLE COMMUNICATION GAP

Linguistic processes like loan creations, loan shifts, loan intensifications lead to lexical acculturation of Urdu. It is the lexical acculturation which allows users of the language to use both existing and the new terminologies simultaneously thus creating a diglossic situation resulting from the modernization of Urdu. The following examples occurred in Aaj-Kal program brought out by the All India Radio (AIR) which

is closer to the written standard Urdu. A diglossic situation prevails in the language as can be seen by the parallel examples from 'spoken & standard Urdu.

<u>Lg. Types</u>	<u>AIR words</u>	<u>Spoken Standard</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
PA derivational morphemes	maslan	missal ke liye	'for example'
	xusuusan	xaas kar	'particularly'
	bazaate xud	apni taraf se	'on his own'
PA plurals	dalaayal	daliile	'evidences'
	mumalik	mulko	'countries'
	afsaraan	afsaaro	'officers'
Enclitics	membaaran -e parliament	parliament ke membaro	'Members of parliament'
	guft-e-sunnid	baatciit	'talk, parley'
	laayeq-e-diid	dekhne ^{ke} laayeq	'worth seeing'
	darii	idhar	'here'
PA adverbs	guzishte	pichle	'last'
	tassalut	kantrol	'control'
	islahae ki	hathiaaro ki	'supply of arms'
	saplai	saplaai	

This "externally induced" rather than "internally generated" modernization of Urdu leads to some very significant socio-linguistic changes in the language and ⁱⁿ the speech community. It creates a communicatiⁿ gap between the thrusters (generally the government machinery) and the recipients (the users) or say between the "modernised Urdu" and the "non modernized" Urdu. This ^{is} particularly true of the All India Radio programs . The best reflection is in the low percentage ^{of Urduans} of Urdu non-music programs . After conducting a survey on a large number of Urdu speakers of all ages, sex and professional walks of life of North India, we realized that 71.15% responded that they hardly listen to any news or other programs except the film songs, while 12.82% listen to intervening news ("tabseera", and "axbaarō kī raaye" between the songs. There were just 16.02% who listen to the news and other programs.

Out of 28.84% who finally listen to the news, majority of them feel that Urdu used in news broadcast and other technical informative programs lacks the spoken idioms and also ^{that} there is no uniform

practice regarding certain terms used by them. Regarding the use of terminology, they feel that no consistency has been used to keep terminologies of external services *distinct* from internal services. Sometimes incomprehensible words and terminologies are used for home service bulletins which, according to these listeners, *exist* because the translators take their cues from Pakistan bulletins. Sometimes literal translation of English phrases leads to complex and hard to comprehend constructions in the news media. Consider:

Problems arising as a result of literal translation:

Example:-

1. /junuubi afriqaa nasli taafsub ke matluga ek klasiki
misal ka aainaadaar hai/

1 is translated from original English version:

'South Africa represents a classical example of the manifestation of racial intolerance'.

Here a simple construction could have been:

2. /junuubi afriqaa nasli taasub kii bedtarin
misal hai/

The case of periodicals, newspapers and dailies is somewhat different. The recipient class in this case is obviously literate and educated to some extent which makes the task of the writers somewhat easier than the All India Radio broadcasters.

Out of different newspapers, Qummi Awaz, Aljamiyat, Akhbar-e-alaam, and Milap, hold prominent position by virtue of their nation wide circulation. The other newspapers (we can call them local papers for the sake of comparison) serve local interests and report local politics. The attitude of the readers of these papers was found to be a blend of both favourable and adverse responses. About 86.67% of the respondents are of the opinion that the language used in major newspapers is standard while about 4.71% of them say that the language of the national papers is too difficult to understand because of the presence of literal translation from English. Sometimes, even smoothness of the language is broken because of long and complex sentences. There are still others (6.62%) who held opinion that language used in minor or local newspapers is standard, for

it is simple, and closer to the idiom and language spoken by the local people. According to them, interestingly, the reason for these papers to restrict to the local speech variety is the lack of finances. Local newspapers' editors either do most of the writings themselves or with the help of the non-professionals (hence the one who is not acquainted with modernized versions) as against those major national newspapers where a group of sub-editors merely translate the news with the aid of dictionary.

Periodicals, on the other hand enjoy almost total comprehensibility mainly because the subject matter more or less concerns with the short stories, novels, anecdotes, poems etc. where spoken standard is used. Technical and educational articles (also depending upon writer to writer) do pose communication problem to some extent. Barring individual differences between the styles of various writers, most of the newspaper language shows relatively less use of features of formal written standard (modernized Urdu) Urdu. For instance, they avoid using enclitics, derivational

morphemes, PA plurals etc. Here the language of the newspaper is seen to be fulfilling and achieving both 'intellectualization' and 'flexibility' which are considered to be characters of standard language.

The problem of comprehension is greatest when modernized Urdu is used in text books and technical and semi-technical articles. The former are marked by PA words and PA linguistic processes and the latter two are marked by lexical innovations from English. The following table would give us an idea of the gap that might have emerged due to modernized Urdu.

<u>Textbook words</u>	<u>Spoken standard</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
talū jr Yurub	nikalnaa aur duubnaa	sunset & sunrise
xušk saali	suukhaa	draught
ibtadaa an	šurū me	in the beginning
Yār nafaḥbaxš	nuqsaandeh	harmful
qābīle diid	dekhne ke qābīl	worth seeing
xusuusiyaṭ	xuubīāā	qualities
t̤aḥaayaf	tohfe	gifts
hattaa ke	yahā tak ke	'so much so' to the extent'

Inspite of such exposure to such features and words, through the medium of education the speakers and users of the language do not get an active and effortless control over this modernized Urdu; with the result they not only make "mistakes" at the school level they also never put it to use later in life.

- 5.1. The modernization of Urdu, as suggested earlier has led to some important changes at the linguistic level. Let us consider them briefly.

COMPOUNDS: Urdu has started creating compounds of the type that are generated by loan blends, e.g. hakumaraan paarti 'ruling party' or by loan translation such as masnu'i sahaaraa 'artificial satellite' and thus doing away with some very popular affixation process which was used in old Urdu to create compound and compound like structures. For instance, the following affixes are no longer preferred in the present modern Urdu.

<u>Affixes</u>	<u>Old Urdu</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
xurd-	xurd biin	telecnse
az -	azhad	within limit (s)
-aašob	dil aašob	beloved
-afšāā	nuur afšā	light, diffusing
-aaveZ	zor aaveZ	strong
-xvaar	namak xvaar	traitor

Not only this, loan creations of all types (such as šar pasand 'anarchist', etadaal pasand 'moderates' etc) are responsible for many new ways of creating lexical items specially compound formations which were not existing in the language before.

LOSS OF ENCLITICS : Related to the formation of compounds, Urdu under the influence of English and Hindi is gradually losing the use of enclitics ('izāfiyat ka zair ') which was a very common way of creating genitive expressions. For instance, if we look into the coined words of loan translation type we notice that the language could have had enclitics instead:

Modernized Expression

aa laa ta²liim
masnuⁱⁱ saiyaaraa
imtahaenⁱⁱ istalaahat

Possible Expression

taa²liim-e-aalaa
sayaaraa-e-masnuⁱⁱ
istalaahat-e-imtahaan

Same could be said of loan blends:

Modernized Expression

pul karpore^šan
xufia sosaitⁱⁱ
hukumaraa paartiⁱⁱ

Possible Expression

karpore^šan-e-pul
sos^āiti-e-xufia
parti-e-hukumaraa

- 5.2. Modernization is creating a change in the linguistic patterning of the language. As far as this feature of loss of enclitics is concerned, it is a happy change because the use of enclitics is restricted to a few very highly educated speakers of Urdu only. Our statistical analysis indicate that enclitics are more used in careful than in casual speech and here also the frequency of occurrence of such forms was rated 24% in the highly educated speakers in comparison with a mere 5% in the speech of uneducated.

PERSO ARABIC SOUNDS: Modernization of Urdu has made it imperative for its users to use the correct PA sounds used in all new words. But how many Urdu speakers use PA sounds in formal spoken domain can be seen by the following table where percentage of occurrence/non-occurrence of PA sounds in the speech of various people of different educational background is given.

(in percentage)

Education	/f/		/z/		/s/		/q/		/y/	
	[f]	[ph]	[z]	[ʒ]	[ʃ]	[s]	[q]	[kh]	[y]	[gh]
E0	27.7	72.7	18.1	18.8	20.4	79.5	11.3	88.6	00.9	90.9
E1	77.2	22.7	77.2	22.7	75.0	25.0	63.6	36.6	56.0	43.1
E2	84.0	15.9	86.3	13.6	84.0	15.9	68.1	31.8	59.0	40.9
E3-4	97.7	02.2	97.7	02.2	97.7	02.2	86.3	13.6	81.8	18.1

Table 1. Occurrence of Perso-Arabic and non Perso-arabic sounds

- E0 = uneducated
 E1 = Class I -X
 E2 = Matric - graduation
 E3-4 = Master degree and above

Higher the education higher the use of PA sounds. A very interesting picture emerges where similar test was done on ^{the people of} different age group ~~sample~~ regardless of their educational background. Higher the age group, higher the percentage of occurrence of PA sounds. The following graphs will make the picture clearer.

(See Fig 1.)

The horizontal axis represents the frequency of occurrence of these speech sounds.

(insert graph here)

Since the age group of 50 and above is marked by higher percentage of occurrence which is by and large not highly educated class of our E3-4 type it appears that Indian Urdu is going through a re-modernization process, that is, Urdu of old people have PA sounds which they use in various PA words - these sounds were getting lost in the younger generation in the present context of 2A language contact situation. However, the infiltration of the new lexicon with old PA pronunciation as a part of ^{the} modernization process is bringing back ~~the~~ sounds in the speech of young and highly educated Urdu speakers,

taking a full circle of gain of a linguistic trait - loss and then - gain again. This is a peculiar situation for perhaps all languages which have a traceable classical base.

- 6.1 To conclude, modernization of Urdu can be looked at from three points of view: (1) The influence of English and other surrounding IA languages, specially Hindi is forcing Urdu to adopt some new linguistic processes (i.e. new ways of forming compounds and plural etc.) thereby gaining some linguistic traits and losing the others in the process of modernization; (2) the raw material that is used to operate the linguistic processes of modernization is most often old and based on the classical languages like Persian and Arabic. In other words, the modernization process is bringing back the sounds and the lexical items of PA in newer contexts and in newer forms and thus creating the inevitable gap of communication which can only be bridged by education. (3) Both diglossia and code-switching situations prevail, former one because of lexical acculturation and the latter one because of the twin aim of achieving both 'purity' and 'modernity' and hence using both English and PA

words simultaneously. (4) Modernization of Urdu is creating a communication gap between those who are diglossic and have code-switching facility in their verbal repertoire and those who do not have such facility.

Urdu poses a peculiar situation in the world of modernization. This is the language which was highly developed, sophisticated, and modernized in all sense to begin with but still went through all the gamut of, should we say, re-modernization in the context of Indian language contact situation of multilingualism.

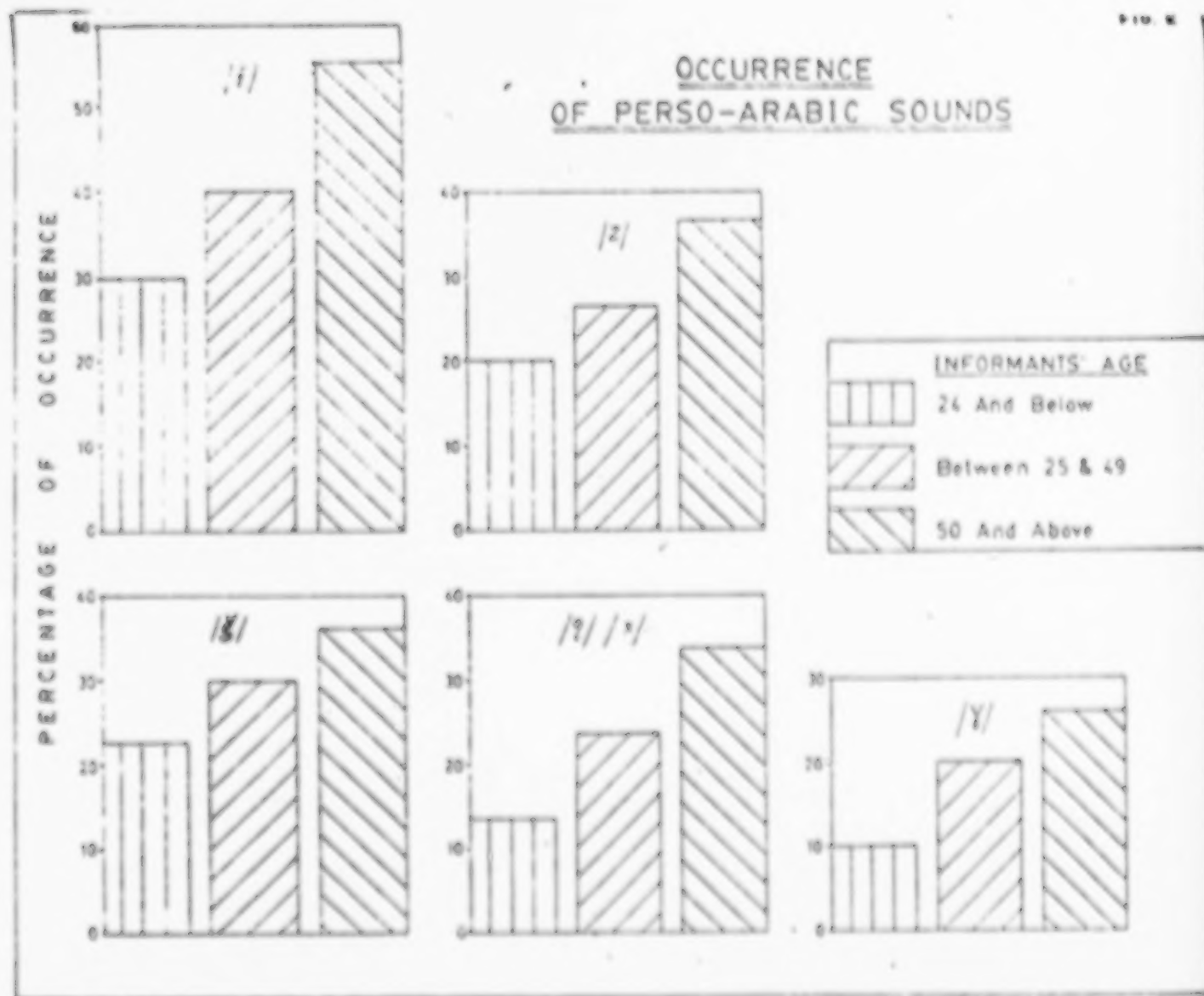


Fig. 1. Occurrence of Perso-Arabic Sounds in different age groups.

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